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INTERVIEW GIVEN BY MARSHAL JOSIP BROZ TITO, PRESIDENT OF  
YUGOSLAVIA TO SHERWOOD EDDY GROUP, HEADED BY [REDACTED]

25X1X6

Following is a list of persons w [REDACTED]: 25X1X6

1. Kiro Gligorov, deputy-director of Federal planning.
2. Ivan Boricevic, secretary of the Central Committee of SSJ (Union of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia)
3. Veber, representative of Trade Unions.
4. Voja Popovic, second president of the Union cooperatives of the Peoples Republic of Serbia
5. General Loncarevic, of State Secretariat for National Defense
6. Dr. Olga Milosevic, general Secretary of Yugoslav Red Cross
7. Voja Djukanovic, secretary of Health Commission
8. Zivojinovic and Krahtis, representatives of Public education Commission
9. Vikentije Prodanov, patriarch of Serbian east-orthodox church
10. Abdulah Hodric, imam of the moslem mosque at Beograd
11. Milan Dobrovoljac, vicor-general of old-catholic church
12. Rev. Milan Smiljanic, president of the Union associations of east-orthodox clergy
13. Milutin Petrovic, member of the Executive of the Union associations of east-orthodox clergy, editor of "Vjesnik", organ of the Union
14. Dr. Albert Vajs, president of the Union of Hebrew confession parishes
15. Gustav Vlahov, secretary of the Commission for Social Welfare within SIV (Federal executive council)
16. Branko Draskovic, head of Department for press and information

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25X1X6

[REDACTED] "I would first of all like to emphasize that we are greatly honored by the reception by Mr. President, and that we are again received here with the same amiability as the year before. We are so kindly received in your country, so friendly and sincerely that we feel quite at home here. For a long time back we have learned to respect your gallant and industrious peoples and we have cultivated today a feeling of fraternity towards them. May I thank you, Mr. President, and add that you have been very often and very profusely quoted by every one of the 55 members of our Seminary, who were last year on a visit to Yugoslavia.

25X1X6 QUESTION by [REDACTED] In what part do you consider Yugoslavia to have made greatest progress for the last twelve months with respect to execution of your plans?

ANSWER: I think that the greatest task we accomplished in the last 12 months is the mastering of foodstuffs crisis caused by the draught. We have succeeded in overcoming it without particular difficulties with the help from abroad, above all from the U.S.A. In addition to that we have completed the execution of our Five-Year plan with regard to most important undertakings, so much so, that at present very little of this Plan remains to be done. Now we are quite at ease about it.

We achieved, besides, some other rather important results this year. I want to say here that we have straightened some things pertaining to economy domain which were consequential of the application of Soviet methods, which at that time was rather successful; we have completely abandoned the system of acquisition by forced sale; further the question of peasant working cooperatives is settled on voluntary basis. [REDACTED] cooperatives of uncertain living conditions to dissolve. In short, we have given full freedom to

agricultural production. The P.W.C's. were organized on free basis before, too, but today we have passed special decree about it.

This year has been marked, besides, by some political successes. One of the largest in that respect is the final repulsion of the pressure of USSR. The outcome of our resistance is today visible; it is clear that we have been victorious and that our way was the right one. It is now clear that our methods - then severely criticised - have proven to be correct and that the acts we have been asked by them to commit are now considered to be wrong according to their own confession. Further it has been shown that it was necessary for us to withstand a five-year cold war to be victorious.

25X1X6

[REDACTED] Which are the main differences between communism in Yugoslavia and in USSR and how did it happen in 1948, when the break was apparent, that the USSR have not attacked Yugoslavia?

ANSWER: Much could be said about the differences. The present day practice and the desistance in some methods are showing best what the difference is. But it is far from meaning that it can be wiped out. The difference is still rather great, also in theoretical standpoint with respect to future development, where they are as yet not prepared to make concessions. I would only say that the essential difference exists in the attitude to relations between states, small and big, also in the point of view about future development of the world. We want all states to be equal, each state to have right to free development, no one to have right to interfere with the internal order of any country. They have imagined, and as yet have not abandoned the idea that the USSR as a great power has the right to interfere with internal questions of a foreign country.

You have asked why they have not attacked Yugoslavia in 1948, at the time they were strong and the Western world rather weak. It is not difficult to answer your question. First of all they were aware that any new conflict would have far-reaching consequences, - it could grow to a World War, of which they were afraid. Secondly, Yugoslavia had at that time a very strong army and the unity of her peoples. They knew very well from their own experience with Finland what difficulties they had in conquering a united nation. In World War II the Yugoslav peoples had six occupiers but they knew how to defend themselves. The Soviet rulers headed by Stalin had enough political wisdom to be aware that any such attack on Yugoslavia, which possessed unity of her peoples and a strong army, would be of no profit to them. They thought that they could force Yugoslavia on her knees applying economic and political pressure. They were wrong because they thought they could subdue our country by means of a "cold war." But it has been seen during the last five years, that the "cold war" was lost by them, not by us.

25X1X6

[REDACTED] If I understand Marx correctly, Marx maintained that the classless society could be attained only when capitalism had fully accomplished all its tasks. How is Mr. President looking at this, considering the practice in Yugoslavia?

ANSWER: First of all the propositions of Marx do not relate only to capitalistic society, but to the entire development of society in the past. At the development of society and also of nature we are looking dialectically. Incontestably, the new is ever born of old. Just as capitalism was born of feudal society so from capitalism will come a society of higher order. The technical and other developments of the society involve the necessity of coming of a more perfect system of internal government and so on, in matters of economy, the economic factor influencing political factors as well. In Yugoslavia we are going from capitalistic society, we are building up a socialist society. [REDACTED] to consideration all

Interview- Marshal Tito and [REDACTED]

Page 3

elements which are burdening our country - the technical and industrial backwardness, old backward conceptions - and we are moving forward in harmony with all this. But we do not move forward stiffly, according to a pattern. The theory of Marx is serving only as an axiom to choose the general line, but we are always seeking the least painful way. Marx has said that the revolution is like a midwife; if she is skilled she can spare the mother much pain at birth, but if she is not that, both the mother and the child can die. In quest of new ways for a new system we came in conflict with the Soviet conception according to which we ought to have gone their own way - the way of barricades, cutting off heads of thousands and thousands of people, the way of force and of police terror. We have declined to choose that way and we are going now our own way. Every Western country has its own specific ways and today they are already going over to a new social system. Of course this is not quite visible as yet, but they are all moving to that goal. The means of production have reached such level that it is impossible now for them to be governed by private individuals; the society must get hold of them.

25X1X6 [REDACTED] I can say that I have perused more than once and with great interest the history of the fighting of Yugoslav peoples for their independence during the War. I would wish to ask Mr. President whether the same will and power to fight for independence of their own country is still existing with Yugoslav peoples?

ANSWER: I can reply to Mrs. Doty that such will is existant in much greater degree. The praxis has revealed the benefits of the gains Yugoslav peoples have won during the war and they are now determined more than ever to retain what they have won through fight. In the conflict with USSR the peoples of Yugoslavia have seen the meaning of independence and of force derived from their unity, also what can be achieved by a united nation. And that is why they are now resolved more than ever to preserve their acquisitions.

25X1X6 [REDACTED] I would like to ask Mr. President in which direction lies the community of Yugoslav economy, industry and what steps should be undertaken to utilize fully the economic potential and natural wealth of Yugoslavia?

ANSWER: I can rely at once that we are not thinking of autarchy for Yugoslavia although our country is rich in raw materials. Our economic development aims at making those raw materials accessible in ever greater degree to our peoples - in order to raise their standard of living. When we have brought our engineering techniques to high level we will then have at our disposal large quantities of raw materials and we will then lead intensive exchange trade with foreign countries to get such things as we are in need of. In short, our aim is to realize the highest possible standard of living for our men.

25X1X6 [REDACTED] I would like to know how your Government proposes to effect the collectivisation of agriculture in such regions as barren carst, where there are very small plots of arable land, very poor at that and of very meagre yield.

ANSWER: The newly brought decree has dealt with that matter and we have just dissolved many collectives in such regions, as they were unprofitable and could not subsist. It is now a matter of coordinating the collective and individual mode of land-working. We will have, no one knows for how long, the individual mode of landworking, wherever the collective mode proves to be impossible or the people decline to work the land collectively.



We won't force them to work collectively. But still, we must direct our agriculture to intensive mode of exploitation and such mode presupposes large complexes of land. In one way or another our peasants must associate. We have a few categories of collectives. In the hitherto highest category we have allowed partial dissolution of cooperatives in compliance with the wishes of the peasants and have favoured the formation of general type of cooperatives, consisting of individual economy units with some land - complexes being worked collectively. As regards carst-regions, considering the mechanization and ever growing technical achievements, we will probably go over to vine-growing or fruit-growing in these parts, particularly to cattle-breeding. We have immense possibilities for cattle-breeding in mountainous parts of our country, and it can be bred collectively. The cattle need not be individual; it can be assembled and we can form there cattle-breeding cooperatives. There are various possibilities there. We will not paralyze thereby the democratic process but will only help the development of such mode of existence as was proved to be the best and was accepted by the peasants. Many collectives have been formed in these regions against our better judgment and we have never insisted on their formation because they had no chance of subsistence.

25X1X6 [REDACTED] I would wish to know what is your attitude with regard to investment of foreign capital and whether Yugoslavia has invited foreign capital to that end. I am also interested to know whether there is a possibility of investment of private capital in Yugoslav industry and generally in Yugoslav economy?

ANSWER: Hitherto we have not practiced such procedure, but such questions have been addressed to me before. I have replied that, in principle, we are not against it, but that conditions for such investments are quite different from those before the war, i.e. before our revolutionary transformation, also different from those prevailing in other countries where private capital is being invested. I may briefly say that if some foreign concern would wish to invest their capital in a certain factory of ours because for the time being we have not sufficient means for rapid development of the said factory, then the state would make a contract with the foreign concern in conformance with which such concern would, after a fixed number of years, get back the invested sums with fixed interest, either in goods or in currency, but otherwise it could not interfere with the work of the factory. Such are our conditions and they can not be anything else in a socialistic country.

25X1X6 [REDACTED] I would like to ask some questions about the education. After the break with USSR in 1948 you were obliged to change your school programs in relation to the teaching of historical materialism. Now I am interested to know whether you have developed as particular educational subject to educate the young citizen, as you would wish him to be, and in connection with that, whether you have done something to make that education appear in materialistic aspect, so that the materialism, gradually and in the course of time, could be accepted by population of Yugoslavia, in which case the organized religion would have to disappear.

ANSWER: The education in our elementary and secondary schools is as in other such schools in the world. In these schools is being taught that which every citizen should know. We are now correcting some things, particularly those relating to historical development of our peoples, because they were not true, since we have more nationalities than one. Fundamentally the development of schools moves in harmony with social development. We must teach the children that our system is good. In USA, the children are taught that American democracy is the best and nobody can blame you for it. We have the right to say that our system is the best

25X1X6

Interview - Marshal Tito and [REDACTED]

Page 5

for us and that we must go that way in our development. It would be erroneous to suppose that we are stuffing children with communist doctrine - even the grown-up people can understand that with difficulty. But our children must know how difficult the life was before the war and what difficulties our peoples have had to overcome in the course of their history, with what difficulties they have achieved their unity, how difficult the social conditions were before, and how difficult it was to conquer freedom. They must know that, or else they will not become conscious citizens of the country, nor would they know how to conserve these achievements. But we are teaching no doctrine to our children; when they come up to the university, when they grow up, then we have another program for their education. There again, much of the earlier programs and programs of the Western schools are to be found. We are not yet satisfied with our text-books, but we are gradually adapting them to the needs of our country.

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[REDACTED] We know of difficulties and evils that the church has committed in Yugoslavia. Can it be maintained that at the present time there is a positive contribution of the church in Yugoslavia?

**ANSWER:** There are several religions: catholic, east-orthodox, the most numerous, moslim, protestant and others. I must say that we have the greatest difficulties with catholic religion, i.e. with catholic clergy of higher orders. Our lower clergy, which forms the greatest part in catholic religion are favorable to cooperation with the state and are accommodating themselves to circumstances and to actual conditions. On the other hand, the higher clergy incited by the Vatican are making various difficulties for us. You see that abroad, too. Stepinac who was a volunteer at the front of Salonica, has jumped over all stairs upon the seat of a bishop and today, as an upstart, he is made a cardinal. For us he is a political culprit and war criminal, and has been tried and condemned as such. Everybody in this country knows that. He was the representative of the Vatican in Yugoslavia, used by the Vatican to make difficulties for us in international relations and in home affairs. It is not a question of religious animosity here but rather of political matter - struggle of the Vatican against such reality as a united Yugoslavia. The Vatican had pretended to build up here a catholic formation of Austria, Hungary, Poland and our country, possible with Italy. With the formation of the United Yugoslavia Vatican lost these positions but it fought with all its might to prevent the consolidation of such a state as the new Yugoslavia is, regardless of the fact whether socialist or any other system were ruling it. Still the Vatican fought against Yugoslavia. On international plane the Vatican presented its fight against Yugoslavia as the conflict between actual authority and the religion. We are not so stupid to imagine that the religion could be eliminated from the thoughts of men by forced, administrative measures. The religion is private matter of individuals and we can do nothing there, nor are we trying to do anything. But we want the representatives of the church to acknowledge the present state of things and to perform only church duties.

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[REDACTED] Do you have any difficulties with moslim group and is there any resistance to certain administrative measures?

**ANSWER:** That is already the thing of the past. We have had to pass a decree forbidding the women's face-hiding wear and there was some resistance to it, not from the head of moslim religion but from some individuals and lower clergy. But that was easily done with and there is no difficulty now. I must say that with moslim religion and with representatives of moslim faith we are having the best relations.

25X1X6

Interview - Marshal Tito and [REDACTED]

Page 6

25X1X6

Has the national and religious conflict between Croats and Serbians increased in strength or diminished?

ANSWER:

It is clear that it has diminished. We are having no more problems with it. If there is some trifle, it is a matter of the past and we do not have to undertake legal steps, provided by the Act of 1945 and by Constitution. Such trends are opposed on the spot by SSRNJ organizations. Regardless of decentralization, offering to each republic the utmost of self-government, the unity of peoples is steadily growing; it develops more and more in the conscience of men and the differences between nations are disappearing gradually. The process goes on and often we do not perceive ourselves how far it has gone, so it can be said today, that it is a thing of the past.

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We are respecting you as the founder of new Yugoslavia as much as we respect George Washington as the founder of USA. I want to ask you whether you are really intending to give the basic liberties to your people as George Washington gave his own people? I am thinking at the moment of political liberties.

ANSWER:

I think that we have political liberties. Go through Yugoslavia, talk to peasants, citizens, various reactionary remainders and you will see that the people are speaking freely, that some of them are reviling, but they won't be put in prison for it. I suppose that Mr. Palmer did not think of liberty of speech but rather of our permission to form different political groups of parties. I will answer that question immediately.

We are a country in incredible impetus of revolutionary development, regardless of the fact that there is no armed fight at present, that such fight is come to end long before, but we have to fight for the formation of new society, to fight on economic ground, to fight for industrialization. We are, besides, one of the most backward countries on the Balkan Peninsula, a country with a number of different nations, and a country in which after Versailles incredible fighting reached its climax during the last war, when it ended almost in extermination. In such country as this burdened with immense ballast of the past, with national hate at the highest pitch we would have achieved nothing had we formed different parties. What would be the meaning of formation of them? The parties would be formed in Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and all these parties would fight on the line of nationality; a state with such parties would not be able to subsist. We had to choose the way of national unity. During the war we have been forming National Front, expelled the occupier and annihilated all that was no good. To do that we had to have one program, one thought, one party. Today again, when we are making the greatest efforts for a happier future of our peoples, we can not allow formation of various parties, which would throw stones under wheels of our development. When the development of a nation takes the road of anarchy that nation must perish. Then a conscious factor must intercede, this factor being the present authority plus consciousness of our men. That is why we can not allow the formation of different parties. We can not allow that because we will have our prisons full. It is much better to tell the people "you have no right to organize different political parties, go to SSRNJ (Socialist Union of working people Yugoslavia's) there is a program there, debate within SSRNJ, agree or disagree with the propositions there and if the majority are against you, you must give way, but if the majority are on your side, then your opinion will prevail."

I would wish to add that you in America had the power between North and South, because the South refused to abolish slave work of black people: We wish to avoid such internal wars.



25X1X6

Interview - Marshal Tito and [REDACTED]

Page 7

In addition to that, we had undeveloped and highly developed republics. Slovenia was highly developed, Croatia a little less developed, Serbia still a little less developed republic but more developed than Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro. Just because we had centralized power at that time and no party-people we could say to our more developed countries "you must give away to Montenegrins, Macedonians and to Bosnia and Herzegovina, to help them raise their standard." But if we had political parties there would be difficulties and Montenegrins, Macedonians and Bosniacs would obtain no help - it would not be possible to do it. The men from abroad should study our development to be able to see the benefits of the way we have selected.

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I would like to have your opinion about the forces that are working for peace and about those working for war?

ANSWER: It has been clear for some time, I think, which forces have hitherto worked for war, and for peace. But today the position is being slightly altered - the war is much more remote now than it ever was. Owing to armistice in Korea a big progress towards peace is made. It would, of course, be a delusion if one imagined that we have come to a point at which we could sleep quietly about it. There will ever be people who still want to settle some problems through war. It has been clearly seen which states represented in the United Nations were for peaceful settlement and which were against such settlement in Korea. I want to say that I consider America, together with remaining peace-loving peoples to have contributed to end Korea war. I would like to point out that such acts can only be welcomed and I would wish American foreign policy to be such in the future, too.

25X1X6

[REDACTED] I would like to ask your opinion about the Balkan federation, in what condition it is today, also about your attitude towards European federation?

ANSWER: Firstly, the Balkan federation is a thing of the future; it must grow ripe. I must say openly that such federation, comprising so backward countries as Bulgaria and Albania, would stress our economy today. Our peoples are no longer desirous to support the backward nation at the expense of their own standard of living.

In similar position we find the European federation; the matter is not yet ripe. Such federation is even more remote than Balkan federation. It is not a bad idea and it will one day be realized. But today is too soon for it. However it does not mean that one should not work for such federation; but those who think that it can be quickly realized are having illusions; they do not see many reasons that speak today against it.

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[REDACTED] I want to ask you what influence the union of Germany would have on the peace in Europe?

ANSWER: That depends on internal system of Germany, on her conception of relations with other peoples, on what pretensions the system will sustain with regard to other countries - it depends on many things. But the present conditions, such as they are, cannot last for ever. The position is, moreover, such as to make a coherent solution very difficult.

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[REDACTED] I am a Japanese and I consider American foreign policy of [REDACTED] humanity and we are on that account very interested about your opinion, your free criticism of American policy.

25X1X6

Interview - Marshal Tito and [REDACTED]

Page 8

ANSWER: As President of a Republic I have no right to criticize the policy of another state.

25X1X6

[REDACTED] I am a protestant priest. I was glad to see the achievements of Yugoslavia under your leadership. I would like something of these great achievements to be profitable to us, too. That is the reason I decided to ask you how Yugoslavia could contribute to the settlement of conflict between Russia and the Western World.

ANSWER: As to profiting from us, that will only lead you in trouble with McCarthy. However, I would answer this question. I believe that the example and experience Yugoslavia's can be of considerable profit to other countries. Of course not in their entirety, but still in many things. First of all the example reveals to many small nations and states how a small people, conscious of himself and of his power, can exist even if it does not please a great power and how he can win the right to self-government. That is a big contribution concerning small peoples. Further, our experience and our way with regard to building up of socialist system presents the socialism in much better light than is the case with USSR, because a different way from the right one has been selected there. We have given encouragement to peoples in respect to deepening and broadening of democracy, forming of free and conscious citizens - these facts are well known the world over. In a sense this can diminish the fear of inevitableness of Soviet aggression. I believe that Yugoslav experience will bring about the change of things in the mind of men of cominformist turn, who have put their faith with USSR, the change being favorable to Yugoslavia and detrimental to the methods employed by USSR. This, too, is useful to outside world and to progress of humanity.

25X1X6

[REDACTED] What words would you address to our citizens in America about the nature and perspective of Yugoslav communist experiment in which you are so powerfully and so hopefully engaged?

ANSWER: Before replying to this question I would like to say something. I am glad of the chance to have had a talk today with ladies and gentlemen from America and I would like you to find yourselves, from other people as well, the answer to your questions while travelling through Yugoslavia. I think it best for you to talk with many people and you will probably get the answers which you desired to hear from me. I would wish you to look upon things in Yugoslavia without prejudice, to keep always in mind the past of our country and all the phases she had to go through and you will then understand much more easily some of the shortcomings still present with us. I would wish you to believe in one thing, namely, that we are moving steadily forward and that our only desire is to see our people live a happier life.

Finally, I would like to say that what we are doing here we do not look upon as a communist experiment because communism is a very remote possibility. Besides, for us it is not an experiment at all - it is a socialist building up of our country. Perhaps you call it experiment because we have made some mistakes. That is true, we did make several mistakes but we have recognised them at once and made them good. We are not ashamed of our mistakes because the forming of a new society is full of difficulties implying often making of errors. I would wish the men in America to understand our mode of life, our aims, particularly to comprehend that we are not a country where an experiment is tried, to be later on imposed upon other countries. We have never spoken in that sense and we never intend to do so. In every country the people are able to find the way they consider the best and we will not impose our system to anybody. Our aim is to form the best democracy of the world.